THE MILITANT

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Next Month The Weekly!

Au Appeal to Our Readers

With this issue there is only one month left until the **Militant** appears as a regular weekly organ of the Communist Left Opposition. Will our readers support us in making this step a reality and help to maintain the Weekly? This is an important question addressed directly to you.

We feel that the **Militant** has already during its brief span of existence established itself as a revolutionary instrument of incalculable value. To obtain further proof of this our readers need only look through this present issue and notice as an example the information and analysis we are able to present about the revolutionary developments in Spain. These are events of world shaking importance. Nevertheless, in the United States, the **Militant** is the only revolutionary organ which clearly and precisely explains these events to the working class.

This, however, is not an isolated instance. Our readers will recall, during the period of the existence of the **Militant,** the fact that on its pages could be found a revolutionary interpretation of events of the class struggle and a correct Marxian analysis and guide for the working class. This is no small accomplishment. Yet our efforts have been limited because of the semi-monthly appearance. How much more effective a Weekly appearance will become, may be seen by all. It will be possible to give the Weekly **Militant** a more popular character without its suffering the slightest by way of decrease of its present theoretical value. It can become an all the more effective medium for discussion of the problems of the revolutionary workers.

In this sense, we aim to have the Weekly **Militant** devote more attention to the every-day events of the class struggle. Not merely to report them, not at all to exaggerate them and thus create false illusions, but to state plainly the facts, to endeavor to make correct analyses and to serve as a guide for the further course of the struggle.

We recognize that the present crisis and unemployment may prevent many workers from helping to the extent they would desire. Nevertheless, there are ways in which all can help. No matter how hard the depression hits our ranks we can, most all of us, afford a small donation to help bring the Weekly **Militant** into existence and help to spread the views of the Left Communist Opposition. Our readers can help also in enlarging the circulation of the **Militant.** That itself is an important pre-requisite for its weekly appearance. Those of our readers whose subscription has expired or is about to expire can lend a helping hand by renewing immediately. And would it be too much in addition to this also to ask each one of our readers to endeavor to secure one new subscriber? We should remember that with a substantially enlarged circulation, the future regular appearance of the **Militant** as a Weekly will be guaranteed.

But when you endeavor to secure new subscribers you can also make good use of the splendid propaganda literature we have on hand. In addition to the various pamphlets written by comrade Trotsky, which we have announced in the **Militant** from time to time, we now also have on hand the "Real Situation in Russia", and the "Permanent Revolution". A sale of one of these pamphlets or books helps to spread the revolutionary understanding, helps to spread the views of the Left Opposition, and also helps to build up the fund which will sustain the Weekly **Militant.**

These are some of the ways in which our readers can help make the Weekly **Militant** a reality. If you are in agreement with this step, if you feel as we do that the Weekly **Militant** will mark one of the important milestones toward the revolution, then we appeal to you to lend us your support. Can we expect to hear from you by return mail?

—THE MILITANT.

RALLY to the DEFENSE of the SCOTTSBORO BOYS!

A United Working Class Front Will Prevent a Legalized Lynching

The Scottsboro case affords the party an opportunity, which it has seized, to draw nearer to the masses of Negro workers. It involves nine Negro working class boys. The charge is the usual one—rape. The defendants are transparently innocent. The trial was a farce. Elementary democratic rights were violated. Although the defendants were all minors, defense counsel did not consult their parents for permission to conduct the defense. Their parents were not even notified of their arrest and trial. Only one week's notice before trial was allowed by the trial judge. Trial date was set for "fair day". Motions for change of venue were peremptorily denied. The trial was held in a lynching atmosphere. A brass band greeted the verdicts of "guilty". The testimony of the two "raped ladies" was unreliable in the extreme. Only fifteen days elapsed between arrest and conviction. The defense counsel did not investigate the case, produced no defense witnesses other than the defendants to upset this unreliable testimony and refused to ask the jury for acquittal.

All this makes it possible to appeal to broad masses of Negroes on the basis of their racial persecution, to smash this capitalist frame-up. This the party has done by giving leadership in the growing protest and defense movement to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and by appealing to all classes of the Negro population, and the entire Negro press to join in the fight.

In the movement thus set afoot it is necessary to conduct elementary class education, linking the issues in the case with larger working class issues, "patiently explaining" that this case is a fraction of the persecution launched by the capitalist class against the Negro masses, which is itself part of the general offensive of the capitalist class against the entire working class. Only in this way can the Communist party gain influence over and prestige among the Negro masses and lead them in struggle for democratic rights (social, political and economic equality), and against lynching.

And only on this basis can the party draw into the movement the larger masses of white workers. By this correct tactic the party can make a large step forward in uniting white and Negro workers in common struggle against the capitalist class. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that on this presentation of the case to the working class a united **front** movement be organized. And it is **precisely** in this respect that the party has **seriously** blundered. Instead of using the **racial issue** as an approach and appeal subordinate **to** the larger working class issue involved **it** is emphasizing the secondary issue **above** the major issue.

The growing restlessness and discontent of the Negro masses creates a fertile field for the spectacular issue—quick results—method of the party leadership. Emphasizing only the racial issue in the Scottsboro case makes the issue more sensational and looks toward quicker if less valuable results than the slower method of class education through emphasis on the general class issue.

This incorrect emphasis has had the effect of weakening the party's united front. While it is rallying Negro churches, lodges, and the Negro press, it has failed to make any appeal for a united front to workers' organizations, A. F. of L. unions, etc. Nor has an appeal been made to the labor press generally. The impor-

(Continue on page 5)

Ten Commandments of the Spanish Communist

By LEON TROTSKY

1. The monarchy has lost power, but it hopes to win it back. The possessing classes are still firm in the saddle. The bloc of the republicans and the socialists has based itself upon the republican upheavel in order to hold back the masses from the road of the socialist revolution. No faith in words. Give us deeds! In the first place: arrest the most prominent leaders and supporters of the old régime, confiscate the property of the dynasty and its most compromised lackeys! Arm the workers!

2. The government, supporting itself on the republicans and socialists, will make every effort to extend its base towards the Right, in the direction of the big bourgeoisie and will seek to capitulate in order to neutralize the church. The government is an exploiters' government created to protect itself from the exploited. The proletariat is in irreconcilable opposition to the government of the "socialist' republican agents of the bourgeoisie.

3. The participation in power of the socialists means that violent clashes between the workers and the socialist leaders will increase. This opens up great possibilities for the revolutionary policy of the united front. Every strike, every demonstration, every approach of the workers to the soldiers, every step of the masses towards the real democratization of the country will henceforth collide with the resistance of the socialist leaders acting as men of "order" It is therefore all the more important for the Communist workers to participate in a united front with the socialist, the syndicalits and the non-party workers, and to draw them under the leadership.

4. The Communist workers today constitute a small minority in the country. They cannot aspire to power immediately. At the present moment, they cannot set themselves as a practical task the violent overthrow of the republican-socialist government. Any attempt of this sort would be a catastrophic adventure. The masses of workers, soldiers and peasants must pass through the stage of socialist republican illusions in order to rid themselves of these illusions all the more radically and conclusively. Not to be trapped by phrases, to look the facts straight in the face, stubbornly to prepare the second revolution, the proletarian revolution.

5. The task of the Communists in the present period is to win the majority of the workers, the majority of the soldiers, the majority of the peasants. How can this be done? By carrying on agitation, by training cadres, by "explaining patiently" (Lenin), by organizing. All this on the basis of the experience of the masses and the active participation of the Communists in this experience: a broad and audacious united front policy.

6. The Communists do not take any step, with the republican-socialist bloc or with any part of it, which either directly or indirectly could restrict or weaken the Communist freedom of criticism and agitation. Everywhere the Communists will tirelessly explain to the masses of the people that in the struggle against every form of monarchist counter-revolution, they will be in the front ranks, but that for such a struggle no alliance is needed with the republicans and the socialists, whose policy will inevitably be founded on concessions to the reaction and will tend to cover up its intrigues.

7. The Communists issue the most radical democratic slogans; complete freedom for the proletarian organizations, freedom of local self-administration, election of all officials by the people, admission to suffrage of men and women from the age of eighteen, etc., formation of a workers' milita and later on of a peasants' milita. Confiscation of all properties of the dynasty and of the church for the benefit of the people, above all of the unemployed, the poor peasants, and for improving the conditions of the soldiers. Complete separation of church and state.

All civil rights and political priveleges to the soldiers. Election of officers in the army. The soldier is not an executioner of the people, nor an armed mercenary of the rich, nor a Praetorian but a revolutionary citizen, blood brother to the worker and the peasant.

8. The central slogan of the proletariat is that of the **Workers' Soviet.** This slogan must be proclaimed, tirelessly and constantly popularized, and at the first opportunity we must proceed to realize it. The workers' Soviet does not mean the immediate struggle for power. That is undoubtedly the perspective, but one which the masses can attain only through their own experience and with the help of the work of enlightenment of the Communists. The workers' Soviet today means the assembling of the scattered forces of the proletariat, the struggle for the unity of the working class, for its independence. The workers' Soviet takes up the questions of strike benefits, of feeding the unemployed, of connections with the soldiers in order to prevent bloody encounters with them, of connections between the city and country in order to assure the alliance of the workers with the poor peasants. The workers' Soviet includes representatives of the army corps. It is in this way and only in this way that the Soviet will become the organ of the proletarian insurrection and later on the organ of power.

9. The Comunists must immediately work out a revolutionary agrarian program. Its basis must be the confiscation of the lands of the privileged and rich classes, of the exploiters beginning with the dynasty and the church, for the benefit of the poor peasants and the soldiers. This program must be concretely adapted to the different parts of the country. In every province, each with its own economic and historic peculiarities, there must immediately be created a commission for the concrete elaboration of the agrarian program, in close cooperation with the revolutionary peasants of the locality. We must know how to hear the voice of the peasants in order to formulate it in a clear and accurate manner.

10. The socalled Left socialists (among whom there are many honest workers) will invite the Communists to make a bloc and even to unite the organizations. To this the Communists answer: "We are ready in the interests of the working class and for the solution of definite concrete tasks to work hand in hand with any group and with any proletarian organization. Precisely towards this end do we propose to create Soviets. Workers' representatives belonging to different parties, will discuss within these Soviets all the timely questions and all the immediate tasks. The workers Soviet is the most natural, the most open, the most honest and the healthiest form of this alliance for common work. In the workers' Soviet, we Communists will propose our slogans and our solutions, and we will endeavor to convince the workers of the correctness of our course. Each group must enjoy full freedom of criticism in the workers' Soviet. In the struggle for the practical tasks proposed by the Soviet, we Communists will always be in the front ranks." This is the form of collaboration which the Comunists propose to the socialist, the syndicalist and the non-party workers.

By insuring unity in their own ranks, the Communists will win the confidence of the **proletariat** and of the great majority of the poor peasnts, **they will take power** arms in hand, and they will open up the era of the socialist revolution.

Kad'koy, April 5,1931

EDITORIAL NOTES

BOLSHEVIK ORGANIZATION

The revolutionary Marxists, who set for themselves the greatest of all historic tasks, have always prescribed commensurate forms of organization and methods of work. The principle of centralized party organization was laid down by Marx and Engels. Lenin, who stood on their shoulders, developed these conceptions to a higher degree and vindicated them in the living experiences of the Russian revolution. Bolshevism waged an irreconcilable war against every kind of looseness in matters of organization as well as in questions of theory and tactics. And rightly, for they are and must be inseparably united. It was not for nothing that a question of organization—Lenin's insistence on active work in a party organization as the qualification for party membership—was the occasion for the first split between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. At the present moment these recollections have an exceptional importance for the adherents of the International Left Opposition.

The influence of the Marxist wing which declined with the depression of the movement will rise again with its upward swing. This development is already indicated by the situation in Spain. It will be reflected in the American movement and will impose new tasks and responsibilities on the Communist League. For this we must prepare. Our National Conference, now in the course of preparation, will confront the problem of hardening our organization for the coming events.

In recent months the New York branch has taken a number of steps which anticipate, we hope, the general decisions of the National Conference in this respect. A probationary period for new members, a stricter regulation of dues payments and a more precise definition of the individual duties of the members are among the motions adopted in the branch. In all of them a definite trend toward firmer Bolshevik forms and methods of work is expressed.

The Communist League did not begin by stressing organization forms and could not do so. Its primary engagement was to clarify in a broad discussion the great questions brought to the fore in the struggle of the International Left Opposition, and to popularize them in the Communist ranks. To have imposed rigid organization features in the first instance would have been to put the cart before the horse. Form cannot take the place of substance; it can only represent it. Now we can move on, for our work of education and preparation has not been in vain. The main lines of principle have been clearly established, and each successive attempt to muddle them has met with diminishing successes. It is not likely, therefore, that the Conference will be obliged to occupy itself with conflicts on the fundamental questions. It will be justified in the assumption that we can now proceed to emphasize those Bolshevik principles of organization which are necessary to bind our forces firmly together and develop their maximum effectiveness. The actions taken by the New York branch are to be welcomed as a push in this direction.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST "LEFT" REFORMISM

The Conference for Progressive Political Action, which has already condemned itself forever by its bootlicking subservience to the labor reactionaries, has begun to feel the new winds blowing in the labor movement and is beginning to dress for the occasion. The May number of the **Labor Age**, the official organ of the C. P. L. A., comes out with a red cover and a startling line of radical talk. In one issue we see a demand for the defense of the Soviet Union, a denunciation of "Karl Kautsky sham Socialism", an appeal for "the building of industrial unions with a revolutionary outlook and aim," and similar words which cost nothing and mean less as a criterion by which to judge the character and future activity of the pseudo-progressives.

Talk is cheap. He who believes in works is an idiot, said Lenin who knew how to estimate and deal with the Russian prototypes of Muste. A section of the social reformists always plays the part of weather cocks. There is no surer signs of awakening discontent than "Left" talk in the reformist camp. And never does reformism become more dangerous to the workers' movement than when it assumes the protective coloring of radicalism.

International experience has revealed a unique division of labor among the bourgeois agents in the labor movement. We are witnessing now an American example. The black reactionaries, who are most closely and directly bound to the capitalists and the state, held open sway in the period of reaction. The conditions of the crisis, and the suffering and disillusionment of masses of workers resulting from them, are exposing these elements to the Communist attack. And in direct proportion as the outright capitalist slogans of Green and Woll lose their effectiveness, the "Left" reformists come into prominence to serve the same ends through deception.

This maneuver presents a real problem to the American Communists, who have yet to gain a serious influence with the workers. If the workers who are breaking away from their allegiance to the capitalist parties and the official labor reactionaries are captured by the "progressives" they will only end in a blind alley. Their revolt will not mature and raise them to the higher ground of the class struggle implicit in the present situation. That this danger is a real one, only a fool can deny. When we see the fraudulent progressives replacing the Communists at the head of the insurgent miners' movement—to mention only one case—it is time to wake up and examine the question and the answers offered by the three factions to it.

The best service to the Muste movement is that rendered by Lovestone. The Right wing of Communism paints up the "progressive" qualities of Musteism, and moderates criticism to a whisper. Thereby Lovestone deceives a section of the Left wing workers, and disarms them in the struggle against it. The official Centrist faction contents itself with routine denunciations and confuses the situation with the false and ridiculous formula of "social-fascism". This attitude is a direct service to the "Left" reformists, to which their undoubted advances testify. The correct way to fight the "progressive" agents of reaction requires in the first place a precise explanation of their function. From this must follow an unceasing criticism, with particular emphasis on their concrete actions, combined with the revolutionary tactic of the united front. This is the policy of the Left Opposition. Its adoption by the Communist workers is a pressing necessity of the struggle.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

The doctrine of socialism in one country has been the platform of a revisionist war against Marxism since its promulgation in 1924. So far is Socialism in one country from the conceptions of the great teachers, that its exponents had to begin with a different definition of the word, a definition which robs socialism of the contents which the great teachers prescribed and makes fun of the revolutionary struggle to attain that goal. Stalin's well-known declaration that the Russian workers' under the Nep had already attained "nine-tenths of Socialism" is a monstrous example of this perversion of ideas. And now we encounter the same brand of "socialism" in the Stalinist press of America.

The **Daily Worker** of May 16 calls for "the establishment of a socialist society under a Workers' and Farmers' Government!" Since this astounding slogan appears in the leading editorial is it not in place to ask these people to explain what they mean by Socialism? If the "Communist Manifesto" is not out of date, Socialism—according to Marx and Engels,—signifies the disappearance of the political state which is conceivable only as a class instrument, "the organized power of one class for oppressing another". How, then, is it possible to speak of a "workers' and farmers' **government**" in a Socialist society? Such an idea can establish kinship with reformist advocates of State Socialism, but it has nothing in common with Marxism.

Perhaps it may be explained that the editorial meant to speak, not of the Socialist society but of the transition period to it. But Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat are entirely different social orders and cannot be used itnerchangeably by anyone who understands the difference between them. The workers' state is only a stage on the road to Socialism; it cannot be found in capitalism developed to its highest stage; without this, socialism is impossible. It is the task of the proletariat to transform the social structure of capitalist economy, by proceeding through various stages by means of the proletarian dictatorship with a methodical organization of economy leading up to a socialist society. From this it follows that those who claim that in the U. S. S. R. the foundations have been completed thereby say that no great progress has been made over capitalism, which is like saying nothing at all. In reality, Leninism has never pictured the development of socialism as a vertical development, but rather as a development step by step. In "The State and the Revolution" the development of Communism is presented as follows: (a) war Communism; (b) Socialism; (c) Communism. This is the way Lenin pictures the development by stages. After the proletariat conquers power, it cannot immediately conduct the entire economy, that is, it cannot instantly institute socialism. It nationalizes the most important factories, then it extends this action to the minor industries and after it sets itself the task of socializing agrarian economy. That is what is going on in the U. S. S. R. and this would continue with ever greater success, if the leadership were to analyze the situation as it actually is. That is why the only correct formulation is that of comrade Trotsky on the nature of the Soviet state: "The U. S. S. R. has entered the first stage in the development of socialism". The formulation of the Eleventh Plenum is theoretically impotent, it is the formulation of people who have been frightened away from their slogans of yesterday, when they were speaking of having entered into socialism, at a time when milk was lacking for the children and for whom they had to justify their bureaucratic adventurism.

To make confusion worse confounded, in the characteristic manner of Stalinist revisionism, the editorial demands Socialism "under a Workers' and Farmers' Government!" But **Socialism**—again according to Marx and Engels—will abolish "the distinction betwen town and country". Agriculture will be conducted by cooperative social labor. The petty bourgeois basis of agriculture will be abolished—and with the farmers as a class (petty bourgeois)—**before** we reach the Socialist society and as a **prerequisite** for it. How, then, can we have a Socialist society under a workers' and **farmers'** government?

In the literature of Marxism such formulae are nowhere to be found. They belong exclusively to the school of Stalin.

—J. P. C,

The Eleventh Plenum of the Comintern

From the point of view of political ignorance, stupidity and ideological cretinism it is indisputable that the Tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the C. I. broke all the records. The ridiculous theories of the "third period" (social fascism) the "ingenious" evaluation of the revolutionary situation in France surpassed everything that the party could have conceived of as platitude and theoretical decadence.

The Eleventh Plenum has abandoned the theories of the "third period". It has forgotten the "revolutionary situation" in France and recalled social fascism only in a very feeble voice, all of which may be counted as an ideological victory for the Left Opposition. Yet, the resolutions of the Eleventh Plenum give ample proof of the theoretical ignorance and the confusion that exists in the minds of the present leaders of the C. I. For whoever is not familiar with the history of the Ccmintern during the last few years, but is sufficiently familiar with Marxian methods, it is enough to go through the resolutions of the Eleventh Plenum to find inumerable contradictions in them and to be convinced of the low ideological level of the present leaders of the Executive. We shall occupy ourselves at length with these resolutions.

The Estimation on the U. S. S. R.

What does the Soviet Union represent at the present moment? A socialist state, or a Socialist society? Has the U. S. S. R. already entered into a period of socialism? That is the main question to which we shall reply. During the last few years the bureaucracy has been crying from the house-tops that the U. S. S. R. has entered into socialism. The Eleventh Plenum retreats in this question to which it replies: "In the U. S. S. R. the construction of the foundation of socialist economy is being completed."

Here the question arises: What do the foundations of socialist economy consist of? A house in which the foundation is socialism, but which needs walls and a roof. In a general way, Marxism assumes that the foundation of a socialist society is to be found in capitalism developed to its highest stage; without this, socialism is impossible. It is the task of the proletariat to transform the social structure of capitalist economy, by proceeding through various stages by means of the proletarian dictatorship with a methodical organization of economy leading up to a socialist society. From this it follows that those who claim that in the U. S. S. R. the foundations have been completed thereby say that no great progress has been made over capitalism, which is like saying nothing at all. In reality, Leninism has never pictured the development of socialism as a vertical development, but rather as a development step by step. In "The State and the Revolution" the development of Communism is presented as follows: (a) war Communism; (b) Socialism; (c) Communism. This is the way Lenin pictures the development by stages. After the proletariat conquers power, it cannot immediately conduct the entire economy, that is, it cannot instantly institute socialism. It nationalizes the most important factories, then it extends this action to the minor industries and after it sets itself the task of socializing agrarian economy. That is what is going on in the U. S. S. R. and this would continue with ever greater success, if the leadership were to analyze the situation as it actually is. That is why the only correct formulation is that of comrade Trotsky on the nature of the Soviet state: "The U. S. S. R. has entered the first stage in the development of socialism". The formulation of the Eleventh Plenum is theoretically impotent, it is the formulation of people who have been frightened away from their slogans of yesterday, when they were speaking of having entered into socialism, at a time when milk was lacking for the children and for whom they had to justify their bureaucratic adventurism.

The Colonial Question in China and in India

Which class leads the liberation movement of the colonial masses in the colonies and the backward countries? The proletariat, allied with the peasantry and leading it, defeats the power of the ruling classes, fights against foreign imperialism, against native capitalism, against reaction and, supporting itself upon the peasantry, it institutes the proletarian dictatorship by means of the Soviets. This is what Lenin taught us. But Stalin has revised Lenin, presenting as an example of the Soviet system, the institution of Soviets in the agrarian regions in China. He has thereby declared that the peasantry can play an independent rôle and organize itself a Soviet government that will lead to the socialist reorganization of China. The Eleventh Plenum goes still further: "Due to the manifest experiences of the masses in the Soviet provinces, the Soviets and the red army, which have issued forth from the agrarian revolution, draw into the struggle the industrial centers." Not only is the peasantry, then, an independent class, but it is the class which actively directs and organizes the proletariat! It is clear that we have here a new theory that breaks completely with Leninism. It is pure Stalinism . . . And we may rest assured that the originators of this theory have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism They do not understand its importance for the development of the colonial movements. But here we find a second point which completely destroys the peace of this dilemma, and that is the estimation on India: "The acquisition of the leadership of revolutionary liberation movement of the masses by the proletariat is at present the most important condition for the victory of the Indian revolution." Then, it is not the peasantry any more that leads in the revolutionary liberation movement; but the proletariat. But in what is India less favored than China? Why can the peasantry lead the revolution in China but not in India? Is Stalinism justified in China? Where is the difference? In the specific weight of the proletariat? Or in the character of the peasantry? Up to the present we do not know of any political and social differences aside from the fact that in China Stalin already has been able to ally himself with Chiang Kai Shek whereas in China that has not yet happened.

(To be Continued)

ANNOUNCING

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By LEON TROTSKY

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Two Criticisms of the 6-Hour Day Slogan

By ARNE SWABECK

Our readers have become acquainted with the criticism made by comrade Mihelic of the slogan, **the six hour day without reduction of pay,** which was adopted by our National Committee. Recently the 'theoretical" leader of the official party, Earl Browder, also came forward with a "criticism" of this position. Thus there are two views on this question which, however, differ essentially in character. The first demands an exhaustive reply because it contains serious arguments defending a view. The second is of much less consequence becaue by its very stupidity it brands the arguments of this mediocre "theoretician" as having nothing whatever in common with revolutionary theory.

Comrade Mihelic presented his views for discussion. Browder evidently presented his arguments as the last word on the party line—that is, until the next "turn"—which is bound to follow. In this reply we present the views of our National Committee.

The April **Communist** contains an article by Earl Browder entitled "How We Must Fight against the Demogagy of Fascists and Social-fascists". In this article Browder condemns the Hoover "stagger plan"; but he also makes the "discovery" that the slogan for the **six hour day without reduction in pay,** as advanced by us means the same thing. Were that so, one might ask: "What about the slogan for the **seven hour day"?**

Browder exposes the "social fascist" usage of the **six hour day** slogan. In that he is closer to being right. We quote from the article in question:

"The Socialist party joined in the game with the slogan slightly modified to six-hour day and five-day week. This was immediately taken up by the Trotskyite renegades, as their own 'original discovery', and the Communist party was denounced by them as an enemy of the working class because it refused to join the chorus that extended from Hoover to Cannon."

A correction is necessary here. In the first place we did not denounce the Communist party as an enemy of the working class. We have the opposite estimate of the Communist party. But we do condemn its leadership for its failure to keep the Party on the correct revolutionary path. In the second place, we advance the slogan in the question as the **six hour day without reduction in pay.**

Does the Party Oppose this Slogan?

Revolutionary workers may think that there is somehow an unfortunate misunderstanding here. The party leadership cannot actually oppose the six hour day slogan. No there is no misunderstanding. It is the "theoretician" speaking officially. The extent to which such a false position may lead became very vivid in the recent arguments of I. Amter, one of the lesser "theoreticians". Of course we know that he will excell anybody in stupidity and put it into fifty pages of manuscript. He will rush in where angels fear to tread. And so, in an article in the **Daily Worker** about a month ago he actually denounced the demand for the shorter work-day as assistance to the Hoover "stagger plan".

Why does the party leadership oppose the **six hour day** slogan? How will it maintain that in contradistinction to it, the **seven hour day** slogan leads in the direction of the "revolutionary working class solution" of the unemployed problem. This it fails to explain, and there is no good explanation, because its position is false. Its position can lead only to preventing the revolutionary working class solution to the extent that it prevents the correct slogan of the **six hour day without reduction of pay** from becoming instrumental in rallying a class movement of the American workers. The reasons for the superiority, in the sense, of the latter slogan we refer to consider in the reply to comrade Mihelic.

* * *

WHAT ARE MIHELIC'S ERRORS?

Comrade Mihelic presented a seriously reasoned argument in support of his views on the slogan "the six hour day without reduction of pay". The manner in which he poses the question has its distinct value, and a discussion on that basis can become helpful toward further clarification. In his comments on the crisis and unemployment situation, as well as in his criticism of shortcomings in our position, and, what we might call our unemployment program, there is much which can be welcomed. We lay no claim to having as yet adequately covered the subject or to having presented an analysis and program complete in every respect. We are far from that and can well afford to discuss even further than this present scope.

However, there are some of comrade Mihelic's contentions which can by no means be accepted because they spring from an essentially false position. For example, his two major contentions: First, that: "From the general angle of the unemployed struggle, the emphasis must be placed on the fight for social insurance"—as against the demand for the six hour day without reduction of pay. Secondly, he contends that the slogan itself should be "the shorter working week with no reduction in pay." Both contentions are incorrect.

In regards to the first contention we do not approach this problem from the point of view of counterposing the one slogan to the other or even counterposing its emphasis. The one slogan supplements the other and, when combined, help to make up a program of immediate demands.

Comrade Mihelic proceeds to amplify his contention by saying that social insurance places the chief stumbling block in the path of the capitalist's designs to use the army of unemployed against the employed. He adds: "Social Insurance and the fight for it offers the chief instrument by which the unemployed and the employed workers can be united. If they cannot be united on this basis they cannot be united at all."

This is certainly an altogether too sweeping statement to make. We believe we are much more to the point in saying: The slogan for social insurance is correct. It is the one with the most immediate appeal to the unemployed workers. It is not to be conceived merely for purposes of ameliorating the present unemployed misery but primarily as a means of drawing into the orbit of the class struggle all those workers who suffer under this pressure. In this sense, it also becomes a means of advancing the struggle more directly and more specifically against the existing system of capitalism.

Granting of social insurance certainly becomes an important stumbling block in the path of capitalist designs, as do most actual working class gains. By way of comparison, it is well to remember that in the United States at present there are indications that some form of unemployment relief may be granted. Senators, governors, and others have to an extent put themselves publicly on record. Of course, all efforts would then be towards loading the whole burden of such relief upon the worker having a job. This does not in the least invalidate the slogan for unemployment insurance. Actual relief will be granted only provided the workers fight sufficiently for it.

While the capitalist class displays its hostility toward unemployed insurance we may take for granted that it will be much more hostile to granting the six-hour day without reduction in pay.

In this respect we may also refer to England and Germany with their experience in unemployment relief as an established system; miserable though this relief is. In the first country mentioned, the employers have already, as in the recent coal miners' strikes, offered the most bitter resistance to the shorter work day, and enjoyed the connivance of the McDonald government in this attempt. We may conceive of what the picture would be in either one of these countries with a serious working class strugle for the shorter work day and the opposition the capitalist rulers would offer in comparison to the irritation they suffer from the prevailing unemployment insurance.

There are already indications that they will rather retain the longer work day with more production of what becomes absolute surplus value, even at the cost of maintaining an unemployment insurance system. Marx has particularly emphasized how much dearer the absolute surplus value produced by the longer work day became to the heart of the employers than the relative value produced during the course of the shorter work day. Their motto is—keep the workers at the grindstone long hours, speed them up and they will pay for these out of work. Now to the second contention of comrade Mihelic. He says: "Granted that the six hour day could be obtained at once (which it cannot) even at this time it cannot be proved that this would provide jobs for all the jobless and even if it would, it would be only a question of a very short period before the situation would be the same as at present, due to rationalization, new machinery, and the law of surplus value. Thus social insurance offers the most permanant form of relief (even though it is not complete in itself) and places the biggest stumbling block in the path of the capitalist class."

From this point, comrade Mihelic proceeds to show the necessity of beginning at the very bottom and arrives at the conclusion that the slogan should be "the shorter working week without reduction in pay". This he also amplifies by first stating that, when we raise the slogan of the six hour day in a general manner we will succeed in nothing but appearing visionary. Secondly he states: "A reduction of the working hours can be won only by direct struggle with each separate set of bosses and not by pressure on the government and in that sense it surely is much different than the fight for social insurance."

We have no agreement at all with such views of the six-hour day slogan. We will much rather subscribe to Lenin's conception of the eight hour day slogan as stated in his preface to the pamphlet "May Day in Kharkov": "The demand for an eight-hour day, however, is the demand of the whole proletariat, presented not to individual employers, but to the government as the representative of the whole of the present day social and political system, to the capitalist class as a whole, the owners of all the means of production." (Collected Works, The Iskra Period, Book I, page 47)

This does not in the least put us in the position, against which comrade Mihelic correctly warned, of drawing a mechanical analogy with the period of the eighties and the movement for the eight-hour work day. But is it more visionary now to promulgate the slogan of the six-hour day than was the slogan of the eight hour day? Is the gap from the present work day to the six-hour day bigger than from the then prevailing work day to the eight hours? We think not. History gives no such proof.

What is, however, more decisive today is the fact that we are in the epoch of capitalist imperialism with its immense rationalization of production and permanent elimination of millions of workers from the productive process. During the decade ending 1929 it is estimated that productivity per worker increased 48.5 percent without any appreciable reduction of the work day. We have reached the stage of the development of capitalist production where the six-hour work day has become an even more potent need than the eight-hour work day when it was first advanced in the eighties.

The present epoch is also the one of proletarian revolution. This imposes so much more the duty upon us to advance the slogan of the six-hour work day precisely in the sense in which Lenin speaks of the eight-hour day slogan. In this manner, utilizing the slogan to assist in setting workers definitely into motion in the direction, not merely of obtaining relief, but of fulfilling its historic rôle.

The present conjuncture of the working class movement is not the same as during the struggles in the eighties. Today, it is rather a defensive curve occurring under a period of crisis, unemployment, and drastic lowering of the working class standard of living. But precisely in this are created the conditions and the possibilities for the coming rising movement. In this situation, the character of the six-hour day slogan is that of a bridge from the defensive towards the offensive. Hence, it becomes an effective means for preparing for the next stage of the struggle.

In regards to the practical organization for this stage, one is naturally tempted to ask: "Would the realization of the six-hour work day appear within the realms of possibility to the American workers?" We think so and do not conceive of it as visionary. This is attested to by the fact that the United Mine Workers in convention back in 1922, went on record for a fight for its attainment. Within the various railroad workers' unions there is today a growing demand for the six-hour work day. The attainment of the six-hour day would mean a real gain for the workers, and a strengthening of their position. The relief which it could afford from the unemployment situation could certainly become visible now to the workers.

We do not take the view that if the workers cannot be united on the basis of the slogan for social insurance they cannot be united at all. We think rather that the six-hour day slogan particularly possesses the quality of uniting employed and unemployed alike in the struggle. Nevertheless, we fully realized that the more complete program of our immediate demands, together with the proper pursuit of the fight on a revolutionary basis, is necessary to accomplish working class unity and to guarantee its correct direction.

Because of these various reasons, it would be entirly incorrect to substitute the slogan "the shorter working week without reduction of pay". Due to its indefiniteness it would not sufficiently furnish a clear pivotal point for the working class in this struggle. Moreover, the slogan of the six-hour work day without reduction of pay, and thus the better possibility of crystallizing a definite movement, would make it that much more possible to shorten the existing work day.

It is our duty to raise this slogan in an effort to have the idea penetrate the masses. We must, with the small forces at our command, do our best to assist in organizing the fight for its realization and by all means to win the Communist movement as a whole to become active participants. The various slogans supplement one another and thus make up a program of immediate demands. One important part of these activities is to carry on class education. Only that can assure that the workers, when set into motion, take a definite direction along which each demand becomes a stepping stone to the revolution.

M. Malkin Expelled From Opposition

At the last meeting of the New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) a resolution was adopted to expel Maurice Malkin from the ranks of the Left Opposition as a deserter unfit for membership in the League. Because Malkin has in the past been considered an active representative of the Left Opposition, we deem it necessary to announce this action to the Communist workers, to explain to them the causes for it, and to warn the militants that the Left Opposiiton rejects all responsibility for the recent actions of Malkin, which we have condemned.

What did Malkin's action consist of? At a time when the Left wing union (in the needle trades) to which he belonged, was under severest fire of its enemies; at a time when the liquidators of the Lovestone Right wing were concentrating all their energies to sow panic among the Left wing and drive it into the Schlesinger and Kaufman camp in wild disorder—at such a time, Malkin, without informing the Communist League or receiving permission from it, made a private deal with Begun, Kaufman's fight hand man in the Right wing Furriers Union, as a result of which the "known Communist" Malkin, was to be admitted into the Right wing union under special privilege. While it is correct today for militants of the fur workers' branch of the needle trades to join the Kaufman controlled union for the purpose of building a Left wing within, Malkin's action had nothing in common with this policy.

For this he was put on trial by the New York branch of the Communist League. He twice failed to appear before the E. C. to answer the charge. Malkin knew quite well that at his hearing in the Left Opposition his action would be categorically condemned and repudiated. In an attempt to cover up his desertion from the Left wing movement, he is planning to repudiate the principles for which he was once expelled and persecuted by the ofilcial Party bureaucracy. He is now again trying to seek favor at their hands. We know that the Stalinist bureaucrats, who have no principles, are quite capable of whitewashing Malkin in order to strike at the Left Opposition.

The Left Opposition, however, has no intention of allowing anybody who claims or claimed association with it, to sail under false colors. Malkin's planned bargain with the Party bureaucrats is not a strengthening of our Communist party. It is a cheap and fruitless endeavor to cover up desertion from Communist principles in the trade union field. Against this desertion we put the Communist workers on guard. Malkin's departure from the Left Opposition marks a departure from the revolutionary class struggle. His plan to rally to the Party apparatus is a camouflage. The Left Opposition, by its expulsion of Malkin, remains true to the revolutionary principles of Communism, to the ideas and teachings of Lenin and Trotsky, to the task of regenerating the Communist movement by purging it of the opportunist corruption into which the present regime has led the party.

NEW YORK BRANCH COMMUNIST
LEAGUE OF AMERICA
(OPPOSITION)

May 29, 1931.

BOSTON LECTURE

Comrade James Cannon will speak on the "Prospects of the American Revolution' on Sunday June 7th; 2:30 P. M. at Belmont Hall, 150 Humboldt Ave., Roxbury, Mass.

The meeting is under the auspices of the Boston branch, Communist League of America (Opposition). There will be discussion after the lecture and party comrades and sympathizers are especially invited.

First of May in Madrid

MADRID—

The most profound contradiction existing between the feudal-clerical monarchy and Spanish capitalism expressed itself in the particularism of the Spanish provinces. The bourgeois republic has inherited from the former regime this political calamity, which constitutes one of the most serious obstacles to the centralization of the forces of the Spanish bourgeoisie.

It is not only a question of Catalonia, which itself is merely a question of the struggle between the Catalan capitalist bourgeois and the agrano-feudal Spanish bourgeoisie that creates the differences on the political map of Spain. From Biscaye, with its industrial center at Bilbao, all the way over to Seville, the capital of Andalusia, and passing through Madrid, Spain presents a multitude of diverse regions whose political traditions, especially those of the working class and the peasantry, vary in a most surprising fashion. It is known today, after the voluminous correspondence of the tourists of the world press, that the proletarian movement in industrial Catalonia has for a long time been dominated over by anarcho-syndicalism, which was a revolutionary tendency at outset while the workers and the employees of Madrid, a first rate administrative city, have been subject to the almost exclusive influence of social democratic reformism. But if we are not content with a bird's eye view alone, we will discover that the industrial proletariat of Bilbao has always been affiliated to the reformist social democracy and led by Prieto, the present socialist minister, while the backward labor movement of Andalusia is at present influenced to a certain degree by the Communist party. Yet, despite these contrasts and this diversity of influence in respect to place, a sentiment exists, a class instinct, which unites all the exploited masses of Spain and of Catalonia and that is: their vague, indistinct—I would say amorphous—sympathy for Communism, for Soviet Russia.

The Communist party has not been able to capitalize on this sympathy and to give it an organized and durable form. From the beginning of the discussion within the C. I., which was accompanied by persecutions against the Left Opposition, the Comintern bureaucracy has pursued only one aim in Spain, and that was to keep up at all costs, **even at the price of expelling whole organizations,** a little hand of **loyalities.** The Comintern bureaucracy has realized its aims: at present, the adherents of the C. I. in Spain are limited to the **Executive Committee** of what once used to be the Communist Party of Spain. When one speaks in Madrid or in the rest of Spain of the official Communist party, one says 'the Executive Committee". This expression has become the synonym everywhere for the official party, because the Executive, with the support of the C. I., has expelled the entire Catalonian federation, the entire Madrid federation and does not accept the adherence of the federation of Duero and of the numerous militants in Bilbao and elsewhere who have expressed their solidarity with those expelled.

This stupid tactic of Stalinist cretinism has in a certain measure brought positive results for Communism in Spain. This is not at all paradoxical. The Spanish working masses have not experienced the vicissitudes of the criminally false policies of the C. I. after 1923. The members of the appointed Executive Committee have remained unknown to the masses of workers and this fact has spared the Spanish proletariat the disastrous experiences of Centrist adventurism, particularly those of the "third period".

Communism, as the inspiration of the exploited masses, herefore remains unimpaired by Stalinist decadence as far as Spain is concerned. This is a fact that can be established here, everywhere and at all times. In my first letter, I spoke of the sympathy of the people in Catalonia for Communism. In Madrid the situation is equally if not even more favorable:

On the eve of May first an important spontaneous demonstration took place before the Portugese Consulate to protest against the suppression of the insurrectionary movement in Portugal. Nearly three thousand demonstrators, workers and students, expresesd their indignition with cries of "down with dictatorship", "Long live Communism", and "Long live the Soviets"!

The first of May also was a splendid demonstration for Communism. In speaking of Madrid, we must distinguish between the organizations and the fighting spirit of the Madrid proletariat. Almost the entire demonstration, in which nearly 200,000 people participated, marched under the banners of the reformist unions led by the cabinet minister, Largo Caballero. Only a group of from 300 to 400 workers demonstrated under the Communist banner with the hammer and the sickle of the transport union led by our comrades. But the slogans issued by our comrades, their cheers for the Russian revolution, for the Soviets, for the arming of the people, for comrade Trotsky, etc., were taken up by the voices of thousands of workers who followed the banners of their reformist unions.

When our contingent passed the Central Post Office, hundreds of postal employees greeted us with prolonged applause. All along the Passeo del Prado, the crowds gathered on the sidewalks looked at our little group, determined, energetic, enthusiastic, sometimes with open sympathy, sometimes with curiosity but never with hostility. Our group was the only one that sang in harmony and with spirit the proletarian hymn, the "Internationale" so that the demonstrators from the reformist unions who followed behind us were several times induced to sing the "Internationale" instead of the "Marseillaise".

A whole batch of pamphlets on the "Spanish Revolution" by comrade Trotsky were sold out in half an hour.

Where was the Executive Committee (I use the current expression that refers to the official party) on the First of May? It called an unemployed demonstration at the Porte del Sol, in the center of the city. But in this demonstration, as in all of its activity, the Executive Committee was all alone completely isolated. When our contingent passed the Passeo Recoletos, a dozen or so "demonstrators" from the Porte del Sol joined us, since the unemployed had not showed up. That day the Executive Committee discredited itself a little more.

The demonstration of May first showed the Oppositon comrades in Madrid ("Agrupacion Communist de Madrid") that the unification of the Communist forces in Spain can be brought about only by the expelled Oppositionists themselves. The Executive Committee deliberately sabotages the work of unification and of the construction of a unified Communist party in Spain. In this destructive work, it is assisted by the Stalinist epigones of **l'Humanite** and the C. I. But their resistance is powerless and will have no effect. The idea of a Unification Congress of all the groups and individual militants, both expelled and not expelled by the Executive Committee, is making headway throughout Spain and especially in the Catalonian federation, where illusions about the good intentions of the Comintern leaders are still widespread. At Madrid, in the "Agrupacion Communist" which numbers about three hundred militants expelled from the party, the hope for an understanding on the part of the C. I. of the real interests of the Spanish revolutionary movement is becoming ever more feeble. The Left Opposition has shown by concrete examples from the international Communist movemnt that the acts of the Executive Committee in Spain are the model for the entire tactic of the C. I. in the whole world. The "Agrupacion de Madrid" has understood, and in this it is distinguished from the majority of the Catalonian federation, that in Spain, unity will be achieved **against the bureaucrats** of the C. I., and that no compromise with them is possible. At Madrid, the Spanish Left Opposition has won quite a bit of ground for revolutionary activity. The tasks of the vanguard in the revolutionary events in Spain are becoming clear and precise. The Left Opposition of Spain is growing in the same degree as the exploited Spanish masses are awakening to the struggle.

May 3, 1931. **J. OBIN.**

The Bourgeoisie and the Spanish Revolution

Bearing down all their weight to bridle the revolutionary movement and to hold the masses in check, the socialist republican leaders brought about a change of régime as, a consequence of the municipal elections held the twelfth of April. The revolutionary movement in Spain had acquired such force that the course of future events depended entirely upon the strength of the class that assumed the hegemony of the movement. All the republicans—from the ultra-Right to the socialists who have absolute control and leadership in the U. G. T. (the reformist General Union of Workers) united their forces for the sole purpose of cutting off all opportunities from the working class movement. On the other hand, the anarcho-syndicalists who have almost full power over the C. N. T. (National Confederation of Labor) have given their support and reinforced the bourgeois republicans; their anti-politicalism has as usual caused them to capitulate at the decisive moment before the policies of the enemy class, without even employing the demogogic revolutionary phrases that characterized the anarcho-syndicalist movement up to 1923. So it happened that the republican bourgeoisie itself practically dominated over both trade union centers in Spain, although it did not by that at all overcome its fear of the masses.

Nevertheless, it was only natural that these guarantee were not sufficient for the republican bourgeoisie. They are obliged, due to the resistance of the monarchist camp, to use force, which from the very moment the regime was overthrown forecast even more profound results. That is why it exerted every effort to avoid the intervention of the masses. Although they had a liberal distaste for the interference of military people in politics, still it was to them that they entrusted the armed srtuggle in December, reducing the masses to the rôle of "extras". The failure of the revolutionary attempt in the month of December is due primarily to this very fact.

After the election of April 12, the forces which had supported the monarchy, the big bourgeoisie, the aristocrats, the clergy, had become convinced that it would be best for their own interests not to put up any resistance to the republic and its decidedly conservative leaders. In view of the results of the vote, these elements said: "We monarchists and republicans must unite to save Spain from chaos". These were the words of **La Nacion,** which was formerly the organ of Primo de Rivera and which lives with the support of the big bourgeoisie. In the last moments, that is, late in the day of April 14, even the king was convinced that the best thing for him to do was to leave the road clear for the republic. The provisional government took the responsibility for the absconding of Alfonso of Bourbon.

The republic was first proclaimed in Spain in the hamlets and in the provinces. Catalonia instituted its own government before the provisional government seized power in Madrid. This is the only nationalist act to be registered for Catalonia, and at that it did not proclaim its independence. The masses, under the illusion of the republic and under pressure from the bourgeoisie, from the very first, started to acclaim order and turned this act into a big celebration. Only in Seville was the offensive asumed and led by the Communists but immediately the republican authorities came out with a proclamation of martial law.

The absence of a Communist party makes itself felt at the present moment with particular urgency. Only a Communist party can offer a solution to the different problems with which we are confronted. But to the shortcomings of the Spanish Communist movement, issuing from a long period of persecutions, must be added the stupidities of the official Communist party affiliated to the Comintern. It has brought about internal disorder into the Communist ranks, a factional struggle which may be said to have relegated the Communists to the fringe of recent events. Reorganization is especially difficult as the different factions do not want to organize themselves outside of the Communist International which, with its customary bureaucratic nonchalance is doing absolutely nothing to settle the conflicts between the factions.

The provisional republican government has not promulgated any democratic reforms of even the slightest importance, so that all the problems remain unsettled. Only a Communist party can solve them and the ground has become particularly favorable for the creation of a Communist party. In this undertaking the International Left Opposition, today numerically small, will play an important rôle, for it is the only force that possesses a firm revolutionary line. Despite all the obstacles, our ideas are gaining ground, because they are indispensable, because they are the only ones that bring clarity into the confusion that reigns at presnt in the Spanish Communist movement.

—L. FERSEN.

Madrid May 1930

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Papal Drugs for Labor

Karl Marx wrote: "Religion is the opium of the people.")

History is replete with examples of ruling-class hypocrisy . . . Today, 1931, Pope Pius XI well upholds that tradition. In a radio address on May 16, the venerable Pope, speaking to millions of workers throughout the world, puts forth a program for the people in exactly three words: "Prayer, action and sacrifice". Prayer the first essential . . . Action is the next thing action of charity and of justice and of the peace of Christ among the classes . . ." "What is even more necessary than action is sacrifice, perseverance, method and discipline **in your work, which demand the submission of your personal ideas and also demand your co-ordination and subordination as workers."**

Then the Pope branches out as an economist. (Truly the man's powers are unlimited). Says the Pope: "The differences in social conditions in the human family, which were wisely decreed by the Creator, [ah!] **must not** and cannot **ever be abolished**. . . " But "It is essential that the proletariat be enabled gradually to obtain some of the advantages enjoyed by the proprietors." (e. g., in Spain, where the church "proprietors" appropriate a comfortable part of the wealth of the country, and the unemployed number several hundred thousand—if they gradually enable this part of the proletariat to gain some of the advantages enjoyed by the proprietors—why just simply "enable" one thousand of those unemployed every year and in a mere several hundred years unemployment will have been solved).

Now then, how is the Pope going to accomplish all this? By "raising the wage of the worker"! Evidently, friend Pope is not exactly a Marxist. Or he would know that the only time in history that the working-class has ever gotten a raise in wages has been when it has organized and fought militantly for it against the ruling class of its time—and the Catholic Church, one of the biggest of property-owners even to-day, constitutes one section of that ruling class. Further, that an economic law operates which causes a "mysterious" rise in prices whenever such a "raise" does occur. The illusion on the score of wages, was quite adequately explained by Karl Marx in Vol. I of "Capital", much better than the Pope could dream of doing it.

And more of such rot as; "class collaboration instead of class war, etc."

Finally, why does the Pope suddenly come out with his little speech? Because it is in the interest of the church as well as of capitalism that the masses must be handed out their opiate. Especially when we witness the uprisings in Spain—and when international capitalism views with increasing alarm the growth of the "crisis" and the rising mood of rebellion on the part of the masses.

The historical difference between the two is that the church speaks of prayer and sacrifice and capitalism speaks of democracy and of freedom. The common basis of the two is the exploitation of the masses —one in the interests of an ecclesiastical hierarchy; the other in the interests of an industrial hierarchy. The common solution to both is the "action" of the mases for the overthrow of both; the economic emancipation of man, with the ultimate abolition of classes and therefore of all hierarchies.

It is indeed interesting to note a statement in the same issue of the **Times** by Louis Waldman, New York State Chairman of the Socialist Party—wherein he views the Pope's attack on Socialism as "most amazing" and "ill-founded". He concludes: "There is nothing inconsistent between socialism and Catholicism or any other organized religion. One deals with the affairs of the State and the other with the affairs of the Spirit of God. We welcome the Pope's conversion to the doctrine of labor, but we regard his attack as ill-founded."

Also in the same issue Matthew Woll, arch-demagogue and reactionary labor leader par excellence, is "pleased that Pontiff reaffirms workers rights" and "endorses his view that neither capital nor labor has a right to demand all the fruits of their collaborate labor."

The working-class learns slowly—but it will learn to place alongside of the Pope as its most insiduous enemies, the figures of Woll and Waldman—the A. F. of L. leaders and their "class collaboration", and the Socialist party with its "ballot box" and "peaceful evolution" theories.

To the words of Marx on religion we add the words of Lenin on the Social Democracy: "They are the agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of, the working-class"

—HERBERT CAPELIS.

The Duluth Dock Strike

The dock-workers of the Duluth-Superior harbor went back to work on May 15 after an unsuccessful strike to resist a wage cut of 15%. Last season, this same group of workers successfully stopped a wage-cut of 10%. Since this strike is one of many defensive struggles being conducted by sections of the working class in Minnesota its lessons are of great value to the revolutionary movement. It is doubly important for all Communist workers because in this struggle the Communist party had a chance to show its leadership and failed because of its incorrect policies.

The Strike Starts Well

The strike followed the announcement of reduction in wages from 75 cents to 60 cents for all dock-men by the Great Lakes Transit Co., the association of all shippers. There was splendid response from the men The partial success of the previous season strike was the reason. There was but little scabbing. The strike-breakers were imported from other ports. A strike committee of twenty-five was elected to lead the struggle. Mass picketing was started. Around six hundred workers were involved.

The Marine Workers Industrial Union and the Communists were popular at the beginning of the strike. To say they had the upper hand would be wrong. for a good percentage of the workers were former I. W. W. members and readers of its press. another group were supporters of the Halonen section in the Finnish workers movement and as events showed, the weight of influence was with the Wobblies. and reformists. The latter's influence was not ideologically represented in any way in particular but by the mass of the strikers being ordinary democratic-minded workers unattached to any organization.

The party, though it had work:ed all Winter among the dock-men and sailors, was unprepared as usual and came late with its full forces into the strike situation. At the outset it offered its support and held rousing mass meetings for the strike. It influenced in part the mass picketing and militant conduct of the struggle. Good rank and file organizers were brought in. And later the relief stations set up were of a material aid to the strikers. Individual comrades did valiant work on the picket lines, winning the admiration and attention of the strikers., **The I. L.** D. distinguished itself by defending the strikers arrested on picket lines. Wherein did the party lose the confidence of the strikers?

In its bankruptcy of policy and tactics and in the personnel of the immediate top leadership of the field of struggle. Hurwitz and Miller. of the Party and the T. U.| U. L., lost the confidence of the workers. with the result that the field was left open for another leadership and when that was not forthcoming the strikers submitted to the wage-reduction. Mechanically executing the "program" (they don't speak of policy in the party any more) of independent leadership by the "revolutionary unions" the incompetent petty bureaucrats. Hurwitz and Miller, failed even to win the confidence of the immediate party forces, let alone the strikers. Under the policy mentioned, the Marine Workers Industrial Union must lead the strike to the exclusion of all other groups. This led to frontal attacks upon the I. W. W., A F of L. (who also had offered assistance and support until the I. L. A. fakers came into confuse the workers and dicker with the company for the men's dues). The I W. W. press had tactfully raised the slogan of "Solidarity", offered its hall, etc. The strikers interpreted "solidarity" to mean unity of all forces to win the strike. The I. W. W. feeling itself incapable of organizing the workers itself. delayed the question of organization, and advised the workers not to organize a union but win the strike. No amount of debates or newsprint could definitely settle what was in the minds of the leadership of I. W. W. Besides, there is no time for debates of this kind in a strike situation.

The M. W. I. U. speakers as well as the press begin a systematic campaign of attack upon the I. W. W. as strike-breakers, betrayers, etc. The question is put before the workers, to choose which is right, and which is wrong, for the I. W. W. press counter the party attacks with similar charges of "they want your money", "politicians", etc. The more decisive elements among the strikers already lean towards the I. W. W. They do not understand the party's attack against the I. W. W. as only an attack against the leaders. Their wobbly education tells them that there are no leaders in the I. W. W., so each attack upon the I. W. W. is an attack upon them personally. The result is that the Marine Workers Union and party speakers are chased from the lot, the same day that the party press is announcing to the American workers, and the Comintern especially, that the Communist party and the revolutionary unions are independently leading the dock-workers' strike in Duluth.

This isolation of the party leaders from the meetings of the strikers almost co-incided with the opening of the relief stations where the T. U. U. L. and workers organization were feeding the pickets, so contact was retained. The strikers would eat the food and sulk about the attitude toward the I. W. W. The leaders on top continued to attack the I. W. W., too narrow to see the attitude of the strikers. A day following one attack the workers almost entirely fell away from the relief station. There was no lesson in this event for the self-styled leaders. Of course, under these circumstances there was nothing else to do but slowly and painfully to organize a fraction among the strikers against the leaders, who, due to the peculiarity of this strike were hard to distinguish from the ordinary striker. Why is this?

Absence of Sound Leadership

The I. W. W. had no men capable of giving leadership. The A. F. of L. union leaders of the I. L. A. are discredited among the workers here because of their past betrayals. The party failed to win the confidence of the workers in this strike as well as the strike last season. The strike committee was weak, inexperienced and not dominated by any decisive opinion. In the beginning it was influenced by the I. W. W. and the party to conduct a militant struggle. In the latter part of the strike, due to the absence of the party and the indecisiveness of the I. W. W. the strike committee was just as easily influenced by the Mayor's Committee for a compromise. Its leadership can be judged from the fact that it allowed a manager of the Shippers to speak to the strike meeting for an hour and a half, after which a vote was to be taken to go back to work. In the same meeting the membership decided to take the vote first and discuss the motion after.

The policy that should have been pursued by the Communists should have been the policy of united front between the M. W. I. U. and I. W, W, for the successful conduct of the strike to victory against the wage-cut, and for the defeat of the A. F. of L. fakers of the I. L. A., under the slogans of "Solidarity". "Win the Strike . The strike was defensive. A defeat of the wage-cut would have consolidated the workers' ranks and prepared them for further struggle. The I. W. W. leaders, if they were not sincere about their slogan "solidarity", would have been exposed and made to appear as enemies of solidarity to their own followers. The weakness and indecisiveness of the I. W. W. leaders (editors) would have been the basis on which, with correct tactics, the superiority of M. W. I. U. leadership could be established. Thus, in the course of the strike or after a victory, the policy of a militant leadership could be established—by fact. and not by bluff. Generally, the proposals of the T. U. U. L. and party to the strikers were correct: mass picketing, large strike committee, spreading of strike to boats. relief and lastly unity. This last can only have one meaning to strikers, and that is solidarity—"stick together, don't scab". It is one of our simplest and most easily understood slogans in strike struggles. In this strike it was the bureaucratic formalist conception of independent leadership and the premature attempt to "enforce" it that collided with the simple proletarian conception of unity in struggle against the bosses. The result of this collision was that independent leadership was smashed by the proletarian unity upon a less developed level of understanding. It shows that you cannot force a real situation to be some thing else merely by bombast and newspaper talk.

Besides that, the policy is formulated incorrectly. Communists can win independent leadership of economic struggles of workers as against reformists and syndicalists when by their leadership, demands, tactics, and organization forms they win the confidence of the strikers. This concept is made over-simple by the present revisionist leadership of the party which creates ready-made "revolutionary unions" which it offers the workers for acceptance. The workers, however, do not know that this union is the best, and after you have the union set up you still have to prove their superiority to the workers by deed and work in a day to day struggle against reformism, and other concepts among the workers.

In conclusion, the dock-workers went back to work with the wage-cut in effect. Their army is not yet scattered, they are not defeated. The A. F. of L. fared badly. The defeat of the party shook its apparatus and is making the membership think. The party needs a correct Leninist policy and a new leadership. Tomorrow there will be more strikes, larger and fiercer. because of temporary defeats. We cannot waste time. —F.

Defend the Scottsboro Boys

(Continued from page 1)

tance of these to the defense movement is self-evident. Without them there can be no real united front, no genuine working class movement. Only an aroused working class can save these boys. And the broadest masses of the workers can be rallied only on broad working class issues. The emphasis must, therefore, be inverted forthwith and a broad united front defense movement be set afoot.

An open appeal for a united front must also immediately be made to the Socialist party. This is of course of the utmost importance. Failure to do so up to now is a grave mistake. No opportunity must be overlooked to expose the hypocrisy of the Socialist party leadership before its rank and file and the whole working class.

In nine weeks the only comment on the case made by its official organ the innocuous **New Leader** is an editorial on May 23 attacking—not the crime against our class—but the I. L. D. for its exposure of the hypocrisy and sabotage of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People This reactionary editorial also makes insinuations about the misuse of funds by the I. L. D. in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and promised to make revelations about this case at a later date. Such is the depravity of the Socialist party leadership! It is not enough, as the **Daily Worker** did on May 25, to answer these slanders with a paragraph of irrelevancies about Heywood Broun. The Socialist party must be offered a united front and the leadership hammered day in and day out for their silence, their slander and their reactionary attitude, until they stand exposed before the entire working class for what they are—traitors to the working class.

Another deficiency of the united front achieved by the party is the attempted exclusion from it of the Left Opposition. But the Left Opposition has not been and cannot be excluded. Wherever workers are in motion and wherever the party is engaged in struggle there the Lett Opposition will be found marching side by side with the workers and the party ranks despite the slander. lies and the bureaucracy of the party leadership. It is discharging its duty in the Scottsboro case. By participating actively in the movement and by pitilessly criticizing the mistakes made by the party leadership and pointing out the correct line, the Opposition will contribute to the movement out of all proportion to its size but commensurate with its historic task.

The absence of delegates from all these organizations makes of the united front defense conferences very narrow united fronts of representatives of Negro churches, lodges, etc. and party organizations whose delegates applaud at the correct moment and are ready to throw every Trotskyist out of the door. This is exactly what happened at the Philadelphia conference. Comrade Morgenstern who, together with comrade Goodman will stand trial soon on the charge of sedition under the notorious Flynn edition act, and whose defense is being shamefully neglected by the I. L. D., was forcibly ejected from the conference for taking the floor and speaking for a real united front with A. F. of L. locals and the Socialist Party included. The bureaucratic praesidium lamely explained to the protesting party rank and filers that comrade Morgenstern was a visitor and had no right to speak. This explanation was shamelessly offered to workers who had seen comrade Morgenstern ask for the floor and receive it. Such is the spectacle to which are treated workers new to the Communist movement!

The New York conference, while not so rich in drama, was little better. It was equally narrow and just as mechanically controlled. Committees with prepared plans were instructed to retire and draw up the plans. The oratory was endless. Discussion by the delegates was limited and was the usual echo of the leadership.

The change in emphasis on the issues in the case will make possible a genuine united front movement and genuine united front defense conferences. No time must be lost in making this turn about face to the correct line. To delay or not to do it is to risk the lives of the nine boys and to guarantee in advance that whatever the outcome of the case to the boys, the party's prestige and its influence over the masses will suffer a serious blow.

In accomplishing this genuine united front movement it is necessary to put forward the correct slogans. There is now too much confusion in the party's slogans. The central slogan should be "Unite to smash the Scottsboro frame-up—Demand the unconditional release of the nine boys". The deceptive slogan of a half-Negro, half-white jury should be dropped. The phrase-mongering slogan "Death to lynchers" should be dropped as a "third period" vestige. Other slogans to support the central slogan should be those which can rally broad masses of workers to struggle against lynching, segregation, discriminations, and for immediate relief.

The significance of the Scottsboro case is great regardless of outcome. The struggle correctly led by the party can strike a serious blow against lynching, against the persecution of the Negroes. It can make a long step forward toward uniting the Negro and white workers in common struggle against the capitalist class. It can draw the party closer to the Negro masses, and to the whole working class, and greatly increase its prestige and influence. All the more important and serious are the blunders of the party leadership. All the more important is the task of the Left Opposition to reveal these blunders and show where lies the correct line. This the Opposition will do. R. T.

IN DEFENSE OF SCOTSBORO

The New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is holding an open air protest meeting against the planned lynching of the framed-up Negro boys of Scottsboro. The meeting takes place on Saturday, June 6, at 8 p.m. on the corner of 125th Street and Fifth Avenue, with comrade Martin Abern, of the National Committee and others to speak. All workers are urged to attend.

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Stanley Disappoints Lovestone

The current issue of the Lovestone sheet, under the title "S. P. 'Militants Collapse at City Meet; Fully Endorse Hillquit Stand", begins its comment by saying: "As foreseen in the columns of the **Revolutionary Age** (we shall soon see what this "foresight" consisted of.—S.], the failure of the 'militant' movement in the Socialist party to make a vigorous struggle along the entire front against the leadership of the S. P. and against its anti-socialist policies and for a policy of revolutionary socialism has led to a decided deterioration of this movement and to the success of the efforts of clever Hillquit bureaucracy to 'kill it with kindness'."

The article goes whimperingly on to explain how the recent city convention of the S. P. adopted a disgracefully reformist resolution on the "city investigation" with the support of an alliance between the "militants" and Hillquit.

"The fact that the same individuals who voted for this resolution," continues Lovestone, "only a few months ago introduced a resolution criticizing the reformist character of the socialist party's election campaign, that they spoke openly of the proletarian dictatorship, of the development of socialism in the Soviet Union and of the necessity of ending [!] the reformist rôle of the socialist party, indicates the truth of the contention of the Revolutionary Age. Either a consistent and logical struggle against the reformist theories and practises as a whole and thus an approach to Communism or back to the swamp of Hillquit-Thomas reformism."

One can scarcely have imagined so rapid a denouement of the tragi-comedy staged by the leaders of the Lovestone group and the ridiculous disappointment of these Menshevik impresarios at the unexpected turn taken by the "militant" actors whom they had advertised so widely. From the Communist viewpoint, the Stanleys, the McAllister Colemans, the Leonard Brights and their stock company were dismissed at the very outset as frauds masquerading as radical politicians. From the standpoint of the Lovestoneites (i. e., of the epigones of Communism), the "militants" were played up as just a shade or two short of being perfect Communists.

How and what did the **Revolutionary Age** "foresee"? It foresaw nothing. It did not warn the Communist workers, and even worse, it did not warn the workers in loking for a way out of the reformist swamp, that the "militant group", composed of a clique of second and third class leaders would only keep the workers anchored in the swamp. On the contrary, the whole policy of Lovestone faction was calculated to keep the dissatisfied S. P. workers tied to the "Left" wing reformists by perpetuating their illusions about the latter. The Lovestone policy was calculated upon recruiting support for Stanley, Porter and Shapiro (who are in turn the props of Hillquit, Thomas and Lee), and not upon winning the workers away from them. For the Lovestoneites to speak of "foresight" and the "truth" of their contentions is a perfectly shameless gambling upon the short memories of their readers.

What did these chagrined and disappointed Mensheviks say about the "Militants" and their activities a brief three or four months ago? From Herberg: "The resolution [on Russia] introduced by the Stanley group was thoroughly pro-Soviet **not merely in sentiment but in revolutionary class content** . . . It is clear from a mere reading of both resolutions [Lee's and Stanley's] that on this question the differences have already [!] reached the point where they cannot remain within the bounds of one party . . . The Left group manifests as its chief feature a continuous ever changing dynamic character. This fundamental feature also distinguishes the Leftward movement from classical centrism" (No. 7, **Rev. Age.**)

From the editorial: The Stanley resolution) "basing itself on the proletarian character of the Soviet state very closely approximates a Communist position." (No. 6, **Rev. Age.**)

From Gitlow: **"But the differences between the 'Militants' and the Oneals, Hillquits, Lees and Thomases are differences of principle of such a character that they cannot be reconciled within the realms of one party." (No. 9, Rev. Age.)**

A bare four months ago, therefore, our "foresighted" politicians solemnly established the "militants" as: 1. Distinguished from classical Centrism by a "fundamental feature"; 2. Having differences which have "already" reached the point and are of such a character that "they cannot be reconciled with the standpoint of Hillquit; 4. Having a position on the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union which is "thoroughly pro-Soviet" in its "revolutionary class" content, and "very closely approximates a Communist position". Not a single word about how the minority leaders were abusing the discontentment of the workers following them; not a word of warning about the counter-revolutionary attack on Bolshevism for "exterminating" the Mensheviks, which Stanley made in his resolution; not a word to distinguish the workers from the leaders; not a word of criticism or warning, in short, of the whole reformist character of His Majesty Hillquit's Loyal Oposition. Just the opposite: a deliberate exaggeration of its "radicalism", a glowing embellishment of its "virtues".

Now, after weeks of tooting the horn for the "militants", the **Rev. Age** collapses like a pricked balloon. Overnight, the virile revolutionists of the S. P. have "decidedly deteriorated". In less time than it takes to tell, Hillquit has succeeded in killing it—no less. The difference that could not "be reconciled within the realms of one party" are . . . reconciled. Instead of approximating a "Communist position", Stanley and Co. are bitterly reproached by their eulogists of yesterday for adopting a . . . Hillquit position. Those fundamentally distinguished from classical Centrism turn out to be—to Lovestone's amazement—blood brethren to Hillquit and Co.

How could so monstrous a transformation take place within so brief a period? Nobody, least of all the Lovestoneites, can solve this conundrum, because it is falsely put. There has been no transformation—at least no radical one. The essence has remained the same. The actors are the same. Only the costumes are slightly changed. The only part played by our Right wing liquidators was to drum up trade for the reformist montebanks in the hope of making some political capital out of the affair for themselves. They foresaw nothing, or more accurately, they analyzed, foresaw and foretold incorrectly. They simply repeated on a small American scale the policy of Menshevism pursed by the Stalin-Bucharin regime towards the national bourgeoisie of China and the "Left" wing labor fakers of the British General Council of trade unions. The consequences of Lovestone's blunders in this field are less, it is true, but no slighter in their treacherous contempt for Communist principle.

Those who believe Lovestone has learned anything from the miserable debacle with the New York "militants" are doomed to the same disappointment as Lovestone himself suffered. In the same issue where Lovestone so pitiably bewails the "collapse" of his white hopes in New York, he published a laudatory footnote on a new set of "militants", this time in Virginia, where the S. P. state convention, following the Stanley policy of "dumping" their radicalism abroad at cheap prices and leaving none for domestic consumption, passed resolutions of pious praise for the Soviet republic. The real political caliber of these Virginia "militants" of the S. P. is known to almost everybody even slightly acquainted with the composition of Hillquit's party. But for Lovestone, it is any port in a storm. How many weeks will it take this time for the **Rev. Age** to "discover" that the Virginia port was a poor one, after all; in fact that it was no port at all, but rather another social democratic swamp?

BROWDER GETS THE CALL

The upper circles of the party bureaucracy are once more aflutter and agog. In the circles of the second, third and fourth series, the turmoil is accentuated by the prevailing uncertainty. The realization is coming over them that a jump is soon to be made, but—Alas!—the uncertainty lies precisely in the fact that the willing and even anxious functionary does not know yet which way to jump, and guessing has become a hazardous business especially for those who guess wrong.

The facts of the situation available at this writing are far from promising any convulsive changes in the course of the party. The ideological struggles which were once a source of progress and clarity in the Comintern have been debased in recent years to the level of petty clique fights out of which he issues victor who guesses best what new wind is coming from Moscow. But even these faint squeaks in the apparatus are not without their instructive features. and the clique fights are not barren of amusement.

As has been known for some time now, the party leadership has actually been concentrated in the hands of the "Marxist Center" (or, as it is more popularly known in the party, the swamp), composed of Browder, Hathaway, Bedacht, and the doughty master of Marx and Joe Miller who is known as Harrison George. It has been functioning with benefit of clergy and the assistance of Foster as a subordinated, and therefore unwilling, window-front. Foster's position has thus been a mortifying one: humbly taking orders from those he considers unfit to be his own second lieutenants. In an endeavor to find some political basis for separating himself from the "swamp" and eventually rising above it, Foster has developed an "ultra-Leftist" position. Foster an ultra-Leftist? it will be asked in amazement. Isnt' that impossible? Doesn't it fly in the face of all the laws of nature, of biology. of science? We will admit that these are hard questions to answer, but the fact remains that this is the position Foster has taken, to the vast amusement of the party members who are in the know. In addition to this trouble, the "swamp" is further tormented by the position of mild hostility taken by Johnstone, on the one hand, and Stachel, on the other. What they stand for is known by very few today, just as very few ever knew what these two stood for. But they are to be seen constantly in back rooms, along corridors, behind screens and similar safe places—shrugging their shoulders, lifting their brows, and whispering a cautious syllable or two about the source of all evil in the party coming "from the top".

To cap the confusion, the center of wisdom, Browder, has disappeard. Many will remember this name as the author of the "conquest of the streets" and the theory that we are on the eve of a revolutionary crisis in the United States—the only man who ever went Bittelman's "apex" one better. This same Browder, however, recently did a somersault with all the skill of a trained acrobat. From conquering the streets, he turned the party on its head with the advocacy of soup kitchens, cheap meals, and charity relief for the unemployed — thus going Norman Thomas one better. So ardent in his advocacy of this immediate relief was Browder—who knows the meaning of hunger so well from the famine years he lived through under the Lovestone dynasty—that a stir of protest passed through the party ranks and even created a ripple in Moscow.

Result: Browder has received the call! He is on his way to Moscow to defend the soup kitchens as superior to the capture of the streets. What will happen on his return, if he returns, is open to conjecture.

To make up for Browder's absence (and there is only one Browder, for which one may be thankful in these hard times), a "veritable shock brigade" has been mustered out of ambassadorial service and returned to the domestic front. Scanning the ship's lists, we find among the returned such lights as Bittelman, who is to take Browder's place on the secretariat; our long-lost friends Juliet Poyntz and Dunne. and it is said, Krumbein. With such a cast, one can look forward if not to drama, then to lighter forms of entertainment.

Is Foster's star all set for a rise? Will he henceforth be able to make a speech without submitting the outline for Harrison George's approval? Will Bittelman, who pushed the Canadian party a foot deeper into the morass on his way home, return to his compulsorily adopted home where he has been teaching the Kirghiz about American imperialism, or will be stay here with the hope of swimming in a smaller pond but in a bigger way? What, even though it doesn't matter much, will Johnstone and Stachel do, following their record of successively running to earth every job with which they were entrusted? And above all where is the luminary of yesterday, Weinstone, who is as lean and hungry as Cassius and as ambitious as Caesar?

But all these questions are secondary and tertiary in comparison with the question of Browder's future. He worked his way right up from the very bottom. Is he to be sacrificed just for the sake of soup kitchens? Such a course would be unworthy of Stalin who is himself as "pure and transparent as a crystal". Since Browder received the "call" we tremble for his fate. Is he to be made a scapegoat merely for doing what Stalin expected of him? Or if he is to be turned out in disgrace will he, like his predecessors, be the only one to bear the cross? Is he to pass into the great unknown from which there is no returning to the Stalinist apparatus?. We shudder at the ghastly thought.

But after all, perhaps he has only himself to blame. He might have known that once he assumed power, he would have to run the risk of being caught up with by the inexorable juggernaut of the Stalinist apparatus. Should he fall into the list of Those Who Are Missing, we shall say sadly of him what the ancient Romans said: "Sic transit gloria mundi". which translated for the benfit and instruction of Jack Johnstone: 'You're here today and gone Monday."

Resolution of the International Secretariat on the Weisbord Group

The International Secretariat, after a study of the publications of the group organized in the United States by Weisbord under the name of "Communist League of Struggle", considers that this group does not stand on the platform of the International Left Opposition, although it makes use of its name and declares itself in agreement with it on the principled divergences which oppose it to Centrism (socialism in one country, Anglo-Russian Committee, Chinese revolution). Outside of this agreement in principle, the theses of this group, the points of view expressed by Weisbord are filled with confusion on questions no less essential for the Left Opposition.

The Weisbord group considers that there is no Communist party in the United States. that the one recognized as such by the Communist International is only another Communist group, favored over other groups by material advantages (better militants, greater numbers, better connected with the labor movement) but not by a different political situation, as a consequence of the support of the Comintern and the Russian revolution. The Weisbord group which declares itself in a general way as constituting a faction of the Communist movement refuses to consider itself a faction of the Communist Party of the United States.

2. The Weisbord group considers that the task of every Communist group is to do "mass work" and that if it knows how to do it and to extend it to every branch of activity, it then becomes the Communist party. It is immediately apparent that this group further, makes an abstraction of the existence of the Comintern and that it considers the Communist parties as having to form themselves outside of the revolutionary forces existing in our epoch. In addition, under the formula "mass work" which it defines as the work of a group which fights for the deep needs of the masses, the Weisbord group understands an activity entirely independent from that of the Communist party, deeming it necessary to address itself to all the workers with its own program, its own aims, its own methods. It reproaches the Communist League (Opposition) in the United States as being only a propaganda group, which demonstrates the lack of understanding by the Weisbord group of the rôle of the Left Opposition, which consists of working as a faction of the Communist party with the aim of correcting the political line of the C. P. and of the C. I.

3. Proceeding from this idea of "mass work", the Weisbord group regards as Right wingers those who do not know how to do it and as "Left wingers" those who do. Consequently, he categorically denies the existence of Centrism, finding between the latter and the Right wing tendency only differences of quantity, and not of quality. From this fact, the Weisbord group not only does not act as a faction of the party but further places the latter on the same plane with the Right wing faction (Lovestone).

4. The Weisbord group extols the united front in order to realize "mass work". But as a consequence of the position of rival and not of faction which it adopts towards the party, it declares itself ready to realize the united front with any group whatsoever. This results in bringing him to realize not the united front but political blocs, for example, a bloc with the Right wingers against the Communist party (speech of Weisbord before the New York branch of the Communist League, January 1931). This tactic is contrary to the tactic of the International Left Opposition towards the Communist parties.

The confusionist points of view in the Weisbord group can only lead it into a blind alley, and use up the activity of the few militants which it has grouped around itself as a total loss to the working class. The Communist League (Opposition), which is THE ONLY ORGANIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES ADHERING TO THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION, will strengthen its work of persuasion among the revolutionary workers of the United States—party members, adherents to the Weisbord group, Communist sympathizers—in order to convince them of the correctness of the points of view of the International Left Opposition. In its turn, the latter will give its full cooperation to its American section (Communist League of America).

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

— Organization Notes —

....**PHILALELPHIA**—Our comrades, Morgenstern and Goodman, who were indicted for sedition, may soon have to stand trial. Several revolutionary workers have already received varivng prison sentences in Philadelphia under the Flynn sedition laws. The International Labor Defense, which, after much pressure from workers in various parts of the country,made a half hearted promise some time ago that it would furnish legal aid, is now even failing in this respect.

With the trial pending and possibly being called sooner than expected, no agreements whatever have been made by the I. L. D. to furnish attorneys. Naturally, comrades Morgenstern and Goodman are not satisfied with purely legal aid, that is. merely the hiring of an attorney, the Left Opposition is not satisfied with this, the working class cannot remain satisfied with this. These two comrades charged with sedition are indicted as revolutionists and must be accorded the defense as revolutionists. Our Philadelphia branch, in view of the failure of the I. L. D., has found itself compelley to proceed independently to organize the defense for the two comrades and to call upon the workers' organizations to form a united front to fight the sedition laws. All possible efforts will still be made by our Philadelphia branch to give the I. L. D. the opportunity and to make it assume the duty it should assume in a workers' united front for defense of the clas war prisoners.

NEW YORK—Our branch in the headquarter city has maintained a splendid lead in contributions made to the Program of Expansion. It is therefore not too much to say that the actual establishment of the **Militant** on a weekly basis will to a considerable extent also be due to the efforts of the New York branch membership. At least that much we feel we can say surely for the future prospects.

The main reason for this prediction is the action taken by the branch at its last regular business meeting. First, it divided itself into two teams which will enter into competition in securing the most subscriptions for the **Militant.** Secondly, it took up the re-establishment of the sustaining fund by which the comrades make their regularly weekly contributions on the basis of a renewed pledge. The branch membership has already learned the important lesson that in such organizational activities coordination brings the best results. The comrades going around to solicit subs also carry with them an ample supply of literature and in general urge the workers to not only become subscribers but also regular supporters of the Left Opposition.

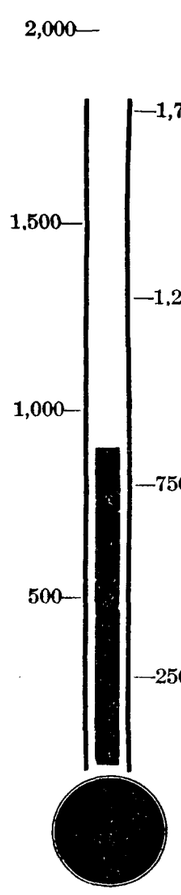
With the beginning of the month of May, the New York branch concluded its regular weekly forum which had been held very successfully throughout the winter. Now it is conducting regular street meetings. Just as the **Militant** goes to press, the final arrangements are being made for the first meeting in New York on the events of the Spanish revolution, with comrade Shachtman as the speaker.

BOSTON—Big arrangements are being made by our Boston branch for the lecture to be given by comrade Cannon in that city on unday, June 8. at 2:30 P. M. at Belmont Hall, 150 Humboldt Ave., Roxbury. The subject will be "Problems of the American Revolution". The fact that all of our comrades there are very active in various workers' organizations and have gained good contacts by their splendid record in several strike meetings. The branch has become lately one of our most effective units in distribution of literature.

With the first step of our Expansion Program realized. that is, the establishment of the Pioneer Publishers and its first book, the "Permanent Revolution" ready for sale we are now striding rapidly forward to the second step. Our readers have already noticed the announcement of the plan to establish the weekly **Militant.** In this step we are even a good deal ahead. In our original plan we conceived of its possibility only after the collection of contributions amounting to $1500. It has now become certain with an even less amount, that is, with a total of $1000 actually collected. The date for the appearance of the first weekly issue is set as July First. But it does depend on the actual sum of one thousand dollars being collected by that date.

While the national office is taking these steps and endeavoring to keep a little bit ahead of the program, our branches should take good care not to lag behind. An actual comparison of the sums collected by the various branches to date will be the best means for each one to estimate whether or not they have reached expectations. We do believe that in making such a check, several branches will find that they are still behind and will have to speed up immensely to be in time to do their share before July first, and from then on up to the completion of the program. The first point of importance is to finish the collection of the pledges made by the various comrades and to forward the names to the national office when each pledge is completed so that we can properly make out the certificates. Secondly, to organize systematically the approach to sympathetic workers and get them interested in participating in the realization of the program. Thirdly, the appearance of the weekly **Militant** at a date earlier than expected should become a spur to renewed pledges. But remember that these payments should be met before July first.

Following are the contributions to the Expansion Program:



New York (M. Fisher)	$3.00
New York A. Glotzer)	3.00
New York (G. Saul)	1.00
New York (J. Rose)	1.00
New York (M. Rose)	1.00
New York (Anonymous)	5.00
Newark (Dr. Tanos)	10.00
Pittsburgh (N. Leperes)	1.65
Chicago br.	4.00
Minneapolis branch	29.00
Cleveland L. Bryar)	2.00
	$60.65
Previously reported	797.00
Total to date	$857.65

In the next issue of the Militant, the contributions to date will be listed by branches.

LETTERS from the MILITANTS

A CRITICISM OF THE ENGLISH OPPOSITION

LONDON—

The recently published articles by "Black Diamond" and "Spartacus" dealing with the situation in the C. P. G. B., and the growth of the Opposition call for comment.

In dealing with Minority Movement conferences, "Black Diamond" approached the question of their representative character from the viewpoint of trade union democracy, which of course is not a Bolshevik viewpoint. What we must criticize is the **deception** practised. The representation of workers at conferences is exaggerated in order to deceive the Comintern and the workers.

"Spartacus" longs for a **"full time organizer".** Of what? A new party? This must be made clear before great mistakes are made. **No one has yet been expelled from the C P G B for oppositional views.** There has so far been no fight against the Centrist leaders. Any opposition that has been made has never yet been openly expressed in the party as being based on the International Opposition's fundamental criticism of the errors of the Comintern and C. P. S. U. leaders.

Despite this, there exists an "opposition group" consisting in part of workers who have never been members of the C. P. or who have dropped out "fed up".

This group is, I believe, making contact with workers outside the C. P.—as a group. This work is not being done as normal party work, but as opposition group work, as though no party exists!

This is completely wrong and dangerous. Comrades must realize that Oppositionists who mask their opposition in the party and at the same time organize "opposition groups" which include now party members, are lacking in the elements of Bolshevism.

once check this, otherwise those party members who might be won for the fight against the party Centrists, will rightly distrust the Opposition and be thrown into the hands of Pollitt and Co.

The Secretariat must lay down very definite instructions dealing with the following questions:

1. When may Opposition groups be organized?

2. Who may be members of such groups?

3. The organizational attitude of the Opposition groups to non-C. P. members.

The Secretariat must make absolutely clear that the task of the Opposition is **to organize the opposition to the Centrists within the party.** Where the Opposition is "legal" (in a party sense) its **only task** is this. That is, its other tasks are normal tasks of a party member.

—DAVID DAVIS.

THE MOVEMENT IN LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES—

While in Los Angeles, I got in touch with our comrade Boisnert. Despite his isolation, he has gathered around himself a splendid proletarian group known as the Machinist Club. The club consists of about 30 members, is open for all workers to join and holds an open forum each week besides its regular meeting. The element is of course a raw one as far as its theoretical understanding is concerned, but it is permeated with a healthy class consciousness which should in the near future bring some organizational value to us. These workers will listen attentively to any subject of working class interest but feel an absolute hostility towards the official Communist party. This hostility I came in contact with often throughout the country. Down in the working class section of L. A., the party is known as the "commics". Considering the location and organizational influence of the party, which from my observation is almost negligible I believe we could have a healthier and more influential base than that of the party if two or three comrades could come to the assistance of comrade Boisnert.

The party is located, or I should rather say isolated, in the Jewish section of the town, known as Boyle Heights. From there they march down upon the city with demonstration after demonstration until no one but the police began to take them seriously. In typical Stalinist fashion they so conducted the demonstrations of the "third period" that they find themselves practically underground without any contact or even the sympathy of the working class. From last reports there, I hear that the party is knocking at the back doors of the Civil Liberties Union for assistance.

The only tactic open to the party in L. A. is the one adopted by our comrades in Minneapolis, namely: a broad united front for the right of free speech [The Communist League branch in Mineapolis is working towards creating a broad movement of all workers' organiations to fight against the reactionary attemtps to outlaw the revolutionary movement as a prelude to a concerted attack upon the whole labor movement.—Ed.] But such a tactic, the party is in no position to carry out since through that other brilliant slogan of the "third period": social fascism, they have alienated every working class organization in L. A. The only time the police does not bother the party is when the party members get together for their best beloved revolutionary sport—"banquets". I attended two of them in the two weeks I was in L. A. A jolly time was had by all with plenty of collections and empty revolutionary phrases. Just how empty the hysterical boastings of the party are could clearly be sen on May First, when the police not only prevented any street demonstration, but occupied the party premises and refused to allow an indoor meeting. Strangely enough, the party members accept the police terror in L. A. as evidence of their revolutionary activity and importance. To every criticism of their revolutionary integrity,they point with pride at the police terror against them. To the worker in the street, the entire situation there looks like a grudge fight between the party and the police.

—MAX GELDMAN.

A "NON-PARTY" ORGANIZATION

NEW YORK—

When, on May 20, 1931, the executive committee of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights "considered" the application for membership of comrade George J. Saul in that organization, they knew of Saul's fearless and effective activities in the South against lynching, his record as a working class and Communist fighter, and his understanding of international forces and developments. They knew the reason for Saul's desire to become a member of the organization, namely, to place himself where he could more effectively struggle as a revolutionist in the proletarian fight against the bosses' worst forms of persecution and discrimination. They knew that comrade Saul wanted to and could do organizational and agitational work as in a militant rebel. And in their hearts they were in favor of accepting comrade Saul as a member. Some of them referred to a "she" bureaucrat who said, "Saul must join the party first". (She meant the Centrist faction in control of the party, for Saul is a member of the Left faction of the party and is, as he has been for years, a Communist).

These comrades stated plainly that a "higher committee" would no doubt uphold her opinion that Saul's application be turned down because of his political affiliation.

It is in this way that the Centrist bureaucrats seek to isolate many of the tried and able Communist rebels. It is in this way that they mechanically control the mass organizations and impose sectarian tactics upon them.

With the revolutionary situation in Spain, the knot of European economic and political forces tightening to the breaking point, the movement of the oppressed rising in the colonies—the observant Communists everywhere see more clearly than ever the validity of the political stand of the Left Opposition, which stresses the international proletarian revolution rather than the utopian core of Stalinism (socialism in one country). Because we stand for a real united front in the defense of the Scottsboro boys instead of a purely nominal one, and that largely with religious and unreliable elements, the bureaucrats discrimin ate in practise against such comrades as Saul, experienced in work among the Negro masses and devoted to the cause. It is this policy of mechanical strangulation that reduces the auxiliary organizations of the movement to pure caricatures of a party already narrowed down by official sectarianism.—J.

FROM AN I. W. W. MEMBER MINNEAPOLIS.

In the late issue of the **Militant** (April 15) I note that what you have to say regarding the "Industrial Workers Unemployed Union".

As a member of the I. W. W. for several years, I am rather surprised to read that we are now reactionary! It is true that the leaflet (breadlines or picket lines) does not mention the necessity of disposing of the capitalist system, being as the picket line proposition is one to bring about immediate demands.

We know that as long as capitalism exists there will be unemployment. The object is to get the working class to make a real fight where some results may be expected. Activity breeds militancy and that is what we want. I feel that the best results (and relief) can be obtained by marching upon the industries, the only place where our class has power. And that is where we must go if we hope to gain or better our conditions.

Your editorial regarding the review of the book "Communism and Syndicalism, which appeared in **Industrial Solidarity,** is O. K., I suppose, from a political point of view.

Yours for the revolution,

I. W. W. member.

Militant Sub Drive

ONLY ONE MONTH LEFT FOR SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

The total of new subscriptions, trials and renewals for the **Militant,** to date is 128. This registers a big improvement over the last report. To reach our goal, however, the branches will have to concentrate their efforts on this drive for the next four weeks and double their activities along these lines.

The New York branch reports a decision to gather 100 by July First. This is not too much of an undertaking considering its large membership and the fact that comrade Goldberg in St. Louis was able to gather 19 new subscriptions all by himself.

Thus far, the Chicago branch still leads in the drive. Minneapolis comes second ad comrade Goldberg and the Sew York branch follow.

From Brooklyn we received two subscriptions from oue of our sympathizers stating that he is working to earn the bound volume of **The Militant.**

The prizes to be awarded **will be as** follows: To the branch coming in highest by July 1st, a copy of "My Life". To the branch coming in second highest, a bound volume of **The Militant** and an enlarged reproduction of Trotsky's photograph to the branch coming in third.

Rush your subs! Increase the circulation of the **Militant.** Assure the return of **The Militant** to a Weekly on a sound basis.

THE YOUNG VANGUARD

Back of the Air Maneuvers

Five hundred and ninety-seven army air machines soar over New York City in impressive war maneuvers, forming a spectacle which fascinated and thrilled thousands of onlookers. These maneuvres, in the words of chief of staff General MacArthur "are not a 'circus' but a test of preparedness of the air branch of warfare." (N. Y. **Times,** May 25, 1931.) This air drill over the skyscrapers of N. Y. involving some six hundred planes and more than fourteen hundred men, cost the U. S. government the princely sum of $2,000,000. Aeroplanes are the instruments of the next war. The nations of the world realize this. In not one of their disarmament conferences, where the capitalist governments haggle and wrangle over the scrapping of obsolete and antiquated battleships, will they tolerate for a single moment the question of the reduction of air forces. The American capitalists are likewise well aware of the importance of the airplane. It has proclaimed a five year plan (!) for airplane building, whose provisions it is to increase the amount of service planes by 1128, from 672 planes today to 1800 planes in five years.

The political situation in Europe and throughout the world is extremely tense. War clouds darken the face of the whole world. France and her Little Entente are at dagger points with German-Austrian Anschluss. Italy looks with jealous eyes on France's colonial possessions and every move it makes causes friction betwen the two countries. America breaks up conference after conference on economic questions, while it grooms itself greedily watching that vast unexploited territory, that is, Soviet Russia, and promoting one counter-revolutionary plot after another, in the hope that this will aid them in their plans to overthrow the first worker's Republic. The capitalist nations are hopeful of solving their economic ills through a redivisison of the world market and colonial spoil, which leads headlong into a new world war. Understood in this sense, the war games in the air assume an especial importance. That war looms in the near future is attested to not only by the feverish military preparations which the capitalist nations are engaged in, but also by the deluge of pacificism which is flooding the country and the world to-day. Pacifism (disarmament, "abolishing" war by treaties, laws, good will, etc.) is an inevitable concomitant of war. It is the barrage behind which preparations for war take place. Pacifism is the soft and soothing music that lulls the working class into a state of drowsy security while the capitalist politicians jockey for positions and intrigue for alliances. How well the United states knows this! At the same moment that the government is completely and wholeheartedly bent on these openly militaristic and warlike air maneuvers, it institutes another maneuver known as army economy. It abolishes fifty-three obsolete army posts, and thus kills two birds with one stone. It gives the appearance that it is disarming by abolishing several army posts, and it makes a show of economy. It hopes by these methods to blind the working class to its war preparations and to appease the gullible and treacherous pacifists and reformists. But the very next day it gives the lie to its own deceitfulness! It runs a militaristic air show which not only disowns any pacifist illusions it might have created but even its preteness at economy. $2.000.000 at one stroke! And it turns down the demand for social insurance because it will be a strain on the government revenue and on the "citizen's [read: capitalist's] income". The rôle of the socialists and their liberal allies is clear. Norman Thomas before a "War Policies Commission" **congratulates** the country (?) "on the conviction that when it comes to a real emergency like war the overblessed profit system won't work without an immense degree of control". Presumably meaning, that the capitalist class (Thomas calls it "the country") is beginning to understand the usefulness of the "socialists" and when war does come, they will lend the "country" some of their ideas to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion, and to hold the working class in check like their worthy predecessors have shown themselves so capable of doing,inthe governments of the Kaiser, His Majesty Geo. V, the French Republic and other illustrious cabinets from 1915 to 1918 and thereafter.

The capitalist class is looking for ways and means to change the whole economy of peace in such a way that it may be transformed at a moment's notice to meet the exigencies of war. Plans for universal conscription have been formulated. Elaborate details of war taxation are being devised. And on top of it all propaganda is being flung far and wide that the United States is preparing only defensive measures and will fight only if attacked. A picture of the future can already be seen, even down to the fake causes for which the capitalist class will attempt to make the American workers fight their English, French or Russian comrades.

For the working youth these air maneuvers have a great importance. Thousands of young workers are driven, into the army, navy, and national guard by the lash of the economic depression. In spite of all the indignation of the Charlie Chaplins, who want the "old men to fight the next war", and of the pacifists who want the combatants to be capitalists and their lackeys, generals, politicians, etc., the working youth will be the cannon fodder of the next war. It therefore becomes ever more necessary to point out the true anti-proletarian character of capitalist militarism and imperialist wars. It is a thousand times more incumbent on the young Communist today than ever before, to bring this message to the young workers in the armed forces; to break down the illusions of pacifism, and to point to the proletarian revolution as the only way out of the catastrophe capitalism is preparing for society.

—GEORGE CLARKE.

Yipsels and National Youth Day

May 30 and 31 has been set aside by the American Young Communist League as the days to rally the proletarian youth against capitalist militarism, the war danger, for the defense of the Soviet Union. National Youth Day is also to serve as a mobilization of the youth for the Scottsboro boys and against the capitalist offensive.

The 30th of May was well choosen, for on this day the attention of the workers of this country is drawn to the memorial of the fallen soldiers of the American Civil War and Spanish-American War. At present, when the American ruling class is making strenuous attempts to get out of its economic crises by the extension of the foreign market—which inevitably leads to imperialist conflict and war; as the United States government is beginning to oil its war machinery—witness the recent meeting of the Policies Commission, universal conscription plans, air maneuvers, "military economy" (which does away with "unnecessary" expenditures of money), and lastly the intensification of the political offensive of the bosses and their state apparatus against the Communist and militant workers—at just such a time is it especially necessary to inform the workers of these events, mobilize them for the struggle against capitalist militarism and wage'slavery.

However, the difficulties in the way of effective mass youth demonstrations of such a character are many. One of the greatest, if not the greatest, is the non-existence of a youth organization which has won the confidence and support of large sections of young workers. The official Young Communist League has at no time been an influencing factor among the American youth. In recent years, the policies pursued, the methods of work used, the type of leadership obtaining has, in spite of the most favorable opportunities, made the League even smaller and less significant.

One can dwell on the meager preparations for National Youth Day; the fact that even the **Young Worker,** until the last issues, had only incidental articles; on the manner in which the membership was rallied. But at the same time one must greet the move of the League, in attempting to arrange a general united front conference of all youth organizations. The inviting of the Young Peoples' Socialist League was indeed a turn from the policy of excluding all non-Communist party organizations on the grounds of "social fascism".

The Y. P. S. L, took advantage of this opportunity. Some of the young socialists in New York who had been accused of being "near-Communists", that is, members of the so-called Stanley "militant" group, decided to show their loyalty to the Hillquits and the Oneals, and prove that they are as good anti-Communists as the former. With this in mind, and the disruption of the Conference as aim a handful of about fifteen young socialists came to the Conference of May 16. A statement of their position was read to the meeting.

The statement of the Yipsels, after pointing out the agreement of the Y. P. S. L. with the aims of National Youth Day, repeats the slanders of the Thomases et al, about the united front between the Communists and the fascists, imperialist oppression (!) in Soviet Georgia, the alleged misuse of funds by the I. L. D., etc. It very cleverly takes advantages of the blunders and wrong policies of the party and League especially in connection with its united front policies. What could the League spokesman say when it was pointed out that the "Lovestoneites and the Trotskyites" are excluded from various conferences which are supposed to be broad united fronts? This confirms our oft-repeated statement that the enemies of the movement will make capital out of the false policies of the official movement; that stupid tactics and Stalinist leadership play into the hands of the social democrats. This is to be expected.

But let us examine our critics a bit. "We have found through bitter experience that for a working-class organization to participate in a Communist united front means to betray the workers in the organization to the none too tender mercies of the Communists". When? Where? Not a word. In truth, the Y. P. S. L. has had very little experience in united front with communists. When in the middle of 1927 its New York organization joined the Miners' Relief Youth Conference, led by the Y. C. L., it was only for the briefest period of time. Suddenly it withdrew; no reason was given; neither the Conference nor its own membership were even formally notified of the action. This shamefaced, backdoor tactic was in keeping with the socialist policies of boycotting the militant struggles of the workers.

Several months later, four members of the Y. P. S. L. were suspended for having invited a Y. C. L. speaker to a Miners' relief meeting. The ensuing protest by the overwhelming majority of the New York membership of the Yipsels conclusively showed that the rank and file of the organization wanted united front action with the young Communists. It must be remember that it is one thing for the young socialists to talk about the lack of workers' democracy in the Communist ranks, but quite a different matter, to practise it in their own organization.

The rôle of the young socialists in New Bedford, where they played the game of the reactionaries like Batty and Binn; their open scabbery during the Fall River strike; their support of the fakers in the needle trades; the petty bourgeois pacifist utopian talk about disarmament and Kellog Pacts; the splendid services rendered by the European social democracy for the capitalist class; and finally the disruptive tactics of the Y. P. S. L., as evinced in sharp form by its actions at the May 16th Conference, must be exposed. Every attempt should be made to win over the worthwhile working class youth in its ranks—who in our opinion form a **minority** of the organization—to Communism.—F.

Student Youth and the Workers Movement

The rôle of the student in the class struggle has not always been answered with sufficient clarity, nor adequately dealt with in recent years. For the revolutionary youth movement which is concerned with the problem of the student, a correct solution and understanding of the question is indispensible.

It is necessary, in order to understand their relation to revolutionary movement, to define the position of the student under capitalist productive relations and to view this position historically. The students are not a separate class in society but in their transitory character make up a defined category. In speaking of this category we are concerned in the main with the advanced sections of the student and intellectual group who prepare themselves for their "future" as executors, technicians, managers and theorists for capitalism.

The higher the educational institutions, the more marked are the class lines. In the elementary and intermediate schools we will find the most numerous sections composed of proletarian children and youth. The children and youth of the petty-bourgeoisie are also great in numbers here, while the off-spring of the bourgeoisie who happen to find their way into the "public" educational institutions (the great mass of them are either privately tutored or attend their own institutions and academies) are in a small minority. It is when we look to the advanced school, the colleges and universities, that the pictures changes. The proletarian students are in the main eliminated—the "free" education of capitalism, proving to be far beyond their means. These students are in the main the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie. The proletarian university and college student, with exception of a few large cities, are few and far between.

The schools are one of the main bulwarks of capitalist society. It is here that capitalism trains the youth in a capitalist ideology. The perpetuation of capitalism, the indisputable correctness of this system, its permanent character, the maintenance of law and order, together with respect for the ruling class, nationalism, militarism, all these and many more make up the food on which the intellectual stratum of capitalism is raised. These institutions turn out intellectual prostitutes and apologists for capitalism. They become the brains and the leaders of the system. Under imperialist capitalism the students are in the main a reactionary section of the population who in decisive class struggle play the rôle of enemies of the revolutionary movement.

At times the students have played revolutionary rôles with heroism and self-sacrifice. Such instances have occured during the period of capitalism's birth, or in countries of a backward development, where the system was yet in the process of development. Under such conditions, the students being an advanced section in a backward social system, saw in capitalism the saviors of their highest desires. They saw in capitalism the opportunities to rise above the mass, the enactment of the "liberties" which are so akin to their desires, and which would make possible the achievements of longings.

However, the moments such revolutionary sitrations reach a proletarian class character, the students participating therein desert the ranks. This was their rôle in 1905 in Russia. This Kamenev rightly remarks in his introduction to the Russian edition of Lenin's pamphlet on the youth;

"The revolutionary student with whom comrade Lenin had to deal in the early stages of the revolutionary movement, was to his mind a man originating from an alien class, a possible ally, an echo of the past, as one who had PASSED INTO THE LIMBO OF HISTORY."

How much more is this true, in a period of advanced capitalism, when the system has entered on the road of decline, and when the proletarian revolution is today on the order of the day. The inability of the students to make any very audible protest to the inequalities of the system and its brutal exploitation, attests to the above characterization. Hardly a protest is recorded anywhere against the enforced and voluntary military training instituted in the schools. The students remain meaningly silent during the present mass unemployment and wage-cut drive against the working-class. The struggles of the working-class pass them by as if they did not exist.

There are however sections (the petty-bourgeois student) of the students, who during the time of acute revolutionary struggles, and faced with a collapse of the system, will be driven to the ranks of the working-class—but they will be few.

The task of the Communists in relation to the student is to recognize that in the main they are a reactionary section in society. When Lenin stated that "The injustices and pin-pricks which the students have to suffer is but a drop in the ocean of oppression of the people", he states in simple language their class-character and rôle. We must not forget that they are not a revolutionary grouping. With this in mind we will be able to understand way the 2nd Congress of the Y. C. I. was able to define the tasks of the Communist youth movement among the students as:

(a) To weaken the forces of counter-revolution.

(b) To tear a gap in the threatening sabotage front of the bourgeois professional intelligentsia.

(c) To secure the scientific and technical forces necessary for carrying through the revolution and for Communist construction.

A. M. GLOTZER.